

BUCKINGHAM

RESTOR'D:

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BEING

TWO ESSAYS

Which were Castrated from the WORKS
of the late Duke of *Buckingham*.



H A G U E:

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UNIVERSITY OF BUCKINGHAM

BRITISH

TWO ESSAYS

Which were
of the late Duke of Buckingham



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(I)

SOME
ACCOUNT
OF THE
REVOLUTION.



IN the Year 1688, there was a wonderful Consternation among some People, and an eager Expectation in All, what would be the Event of an Army's landing in *England*, under the Command of a Prince so nearly related, and nearer ally'd to the King. The pretended Cause of his coming, was for Redress of Grievances; the real one needs not to be mentioned, and will be easily imagined.

The Nation had been long uneasy, even in some former Reigns, with Fears of Popery and arbitrary Power; and of late many of the very Court and Council appear'd unsatisfied on that Account. Some were vex'd also for two other Reasons; the great Diminution of their Salaries by the ill-timed Retrenchments of the Treasury; and their finding all the Power and Favour engross'd by a few, and those also the foolishlest of the *Roman* Party.

This general Dislike of the King's Management, had, like an Infection, reach'd some of his Ministers themselves, as the Earls of *Mulgrave* and *Middleton*, never the least tainted with being either false or factious; yet the first of them, not only in Execution of his Office, assisted openly all the Protestant Clergy, but absented himself from all the Councils, and both of them, in their own Justification, took all Occasions of deriding the ill Advices of the Papists.

But a more dangerous Symptom of the future Change, was a Desertion among the Officers of his Majesty's Army, and, at last, of the Lord *Churchill* himself, tho' a kind of Favourite.

Yet all this was nothing, in Comparison of the Princess's withdrawing her self from Court by Night, without any Servants, except the Lady *Churchill*, and Mrs. *Berkley*, conducted by the Bishop of *London*, whose late Disgrace at Court had help'd him to a reverential Sort of Popularity, which he of all the Bishops would least have found otherwise.

And because this extraordinary Desertion of one Daughter, as well as the other's sitting on a Father's Throne afterwards, must needs seem wonderful in two such Princesses, both of strict Devotion, and many great Virtues, Posterity perhaps will be glad to have some farther Account of such unprecedented Proceedings in Persons of so unblameable and so illustrious a Character. 'Tis very remarkable, that this Prince was so thoroughly unfortunate, as to be undone by his own Children; and the more, by their being bred up most carefully and religiously, and their being endowed with all virtuous Inclinations. These being first deceiv'd, by the Indefatigable Industry of some People, drew in a great Part of the Nation to be deceived also, by the Goodness of their Dispositions, and the nearness of their Relation to the Person accused. For who could suspect such Daughters of wronging their Father? It was infused into them severally, by the properest Instruments that could be found, that their Father was not only resolv'd to persecute the Protestant Religion, but to stick at nothing in Order to it; and therefore, at once to prevent his eldest Daughter's succeeding him, and to secure the Throne after him to one of his own Religion, he had contriv'd a supposititious Son, who was to succeed, and to settle that which his supposed Father might not live long enough to fix sufficiently. And tho' the Justice of his Mind, and the Tenderness of his Nature, were enough to disperse all such Apprehensions; yet the Zeal of Popish Religion was brought in to overbalance all other Considerations. All this was joined with the Prince of *Orange*'s conjugal Impositions on the most complying Wife in the World; who was at last drawn into the dismal Necessity of giving up either her Husband, or a Father, resolved and ready (as she thought) to disinherit her. So that two worthy religious Ladies, even because they were so, consented to dethrone a most indulgent Father,

ther, and to succeed him boldly in their several Turns, before an innocent Brother then a Child.

Tantum Religio, &c.

'Tis no Wonder, after this, if the King began to mistrust every Body; which made him on a sudden leave his Army at *Salisbury*, in order to consider his Condition more securely at *London*. And here I must observe his ill Fortune, in depending on his Army at first too much, and now at last too little. For 'tis very probable, that his Soldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the the Prince of *Orange* just as he had done before the Duke of *Monmouth*: The Nature of *Englishmen* being like that of our Game-cocks, which an *Irish* Footman once thought he might trust safely together, because they were match'd on one Side, but quickly found them picking out one another's Eyes. The Truth is, our Countrymen love no Cause, nor Man, so well as Fighting, even some times without any Cause at all.

In quitting his Army thus suddenly, the King was thought too suspicious and precipitate: But (as unlucky Betters will lose on both Sides) he had just before err'd as much by his Dilatoriness, as he did now by his Haste; for when the Lord *Churchill* deserted him at *Salisbury*, he sent Orders immediately to seize all his Papers at *Whitehall*, before he had secur'd either his Lady or the Princess; which was only frightening the one, and disobliging the other.

When the King was return'd from *Salisbury*, his Council was reduced within a very narrow Compass; and, since he ever before thought no Body intirely in his Interest, except they were of his Religion also; 'tis no wonder, if, at this suspicious Time, he consulted with a few Papists only; who (being the very Persons most obnoxious to a Parliament, whenever summon'd, and to the Rabble, if Things ran to Confusion) unanimously advis'd him to fly; but more for their own Sakes than his, because they might hope to have an Interest with him, remaining in *France*, whither they were now forc'd to escape themselves. From hence alone came that fatal Resolution of his retiring; which was perhaps the Loss of his Crown, but certainly some Diminution to his former Reputation.

The King, however, resolv'd to try one Remedy first, or at least, by that to disguise his intended Flight the better; and therefore summon'd all the Peers in Town to a kind of general Council in *Whitehall*; at which some of the Bishops, as well as Temporal Lords, open'd their Grievances so boldly, that he condescended to send two of them (*viz.* the Marquess of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*) as his Commissioners to the Prince of *Orange*; joining the Lord *Godolphin* with them, who was the only Man that had the Cunning, or else the good Fortune,

to be at once in some Favour with both the King and Prince of *Orange*.

In the mean time, he sent away the Queen, in all Haste and Privacy, under the Conduct of Monsieur *Lauzun*, an old disgrac'd Favourite of the *French* King; which indeed was enough to discover his own Intention of going to *France* soon after. But it was thought worth incurring that Suspicion, to secure the Prince of *Wales*, whom she carry'd along with her to *Calais*. After which, the King (who before judg'd himself under a Necessity of leaving the Kingdom) began now to grow under an Impatience also; and perhaps indulg'd his uneasy Thoughts, with reflecting, that he now abandon'd three Kingdoms, not so much to save himself, as to follow a Wife and only Son.

Just as he was stepping into Bed, the Night before his going away, the Earl of *Mulgrave* happened to come into the Bed-chamber, which being at so late an Hour, might possibly give the King some Apprehension of that Lord's suspecting his Design, with which he was resolv'd not to trust him, nor any other Protestant whatsoever. He therefore stopp'd short, and turn'd about to whisper him in the Ear, that his Commissioners had newly sent him a very hopeful Account of some good Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*. To which that Lord only reply'd with a Question, asking him, if the Prince's Army halted, or approach'd nearer to *London*? The King own'd they still march'd on; at which the other shook his Head, and said no more, only made him a low Bow, with a dejected Countenance, humbly to make him understand, that he gave no Credit to what the King's hard Circumstances at that time oblig'd him to dissemble.

Thus reserved was the King to every Body about his withdrawing himself; as indeed Men are generally most close in Secrets against their own Interest. The mysterious Carriage of this absconding cost the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* his Life (a thing indeed of little Value to any Body besides himself) who dyed afterwards in Prison, for want of having the same Warning given him to escape, which had been given to the Earl of *Melford* and Father *Peters*. This Proceeding of his was imputed to neither ill Nature nor Carelessness, two Faults his Majesty was not guilty of; but rather to his Generosity; which made him compassionate his very Enemies so much, as never to forgive that Lord's Cruelty in executing such Multitudes of them in the West, against his express Orders.

The Nuntio also escaped very narrowly; for, after having stolen away to *Gravesend*, behind the Coach of an Envoy of *Savoy*, he was there perceived by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, who, tho' Lord-Lieutenant of the County, had been unable to preserve him from the Rabble; and therefore sent immediate Notice of it to the *Spanish* Ambassador; who as speedily caus'd the Prince of *Orange* to be waked at *Windsor*, and to sign a particular sort of Passport for the Train of that *Savoy* Minister.

By

By this they prevented an Accident that would have made an ill Impression at this time upon all the Prince's Confederates of the *Roman* Catholick Religion.

But, to return to the King. At Three o' Clock in the Morning, he withdrew himself by a back Way out of the Bed-chamber; commanding the Duke of *Northumberland* (whom he left there on a Pallet Bed, according to the Custom of his Place of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber in waiting) not to open the Door, before his usual Hour of rising, at which time, several Persons of Quality, according to Custom, in great Numbers, being come to attend him at his Levee, divulged the News immediately of his being gone away.

The King intending to pass thro' *Kent* to the Sea-side, took with him Sir *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a great Estate there, and a new Convert, which had drawn on him the Hatred of all that Country, to so great a Degree, as to make him a Hindrance, instead of a Help to their Escape. This the King himself told us at his Return from *Feversham*, admiring at Sir *Edward's* having so little Credit in his own Country: Which was so right an Image, in little, of his own unfortunate Condition, that it had been enough to make him more cautious, if he could have perceived it sooner.

The King's sudden absenting himself, as it was very extraordinary, so it produced as extraordinary Effects every where.

In the Prince of *Orange's* Army, the Nation was look'd on as their own; at least, all the good Employments in it. In *London*, all the Lords there, both Spiritual and Temporal, met the Mayor and Aldermen at *Guildhall*, who, with the rest of the Citizens, were under such a Consternation, that they all entirely submitted to the Conduct of those few Peers, who were almost in as much Apprehension themselves: For, indeed, the Rabble were the Masters, if the Beasts had known their own Strength; at least, till the Prince's Army arriv'd at *London*, which then took their Turn in being so, tho' but one Degree better. One of the Lords, in the Name of all the rest, assured the City Magistrates of their Affection and Care for the publick Safety; after which, they retired into a Room appointed for them, and chusing Mr. *Guin* and Mr. *Cooling* to act the Part of Secretaries, who had been so before to the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Mulgrave*, two Lords then present; they sent Letters immediately to the Fleet, the abandon'd Army of King *James*, and to all the considerable Garrisons in *England*, which kept them all in Order and Subjection, not only to the present Authority, but to that which should be settled afterward.

The Citizens were extremely apprehensive of the *Tower*; imagining all their Houses would tumble down at the first Gun that should be shot from thence; on which the Lords took Occasion of the Lieutenant's Absence, at such a time, to put that Command into the Hands of the Lord *Lucas*, who had the good Fortune to be quarter'd there with

his Company of Foot. But the most important Act of this Assembly, was their sending one Peer of each Rank with a Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, subscribed by them all, in which they took Notice of the King's Absence, and the Necessity of his making all Expedition to *London*, in order to the publick Quiet. This Address was sign'd by the * Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the first Place, whom I particularly mention, because, after this single Act of Compliance, he never would appear in publick Affairs, or pay the least sort of Respect to the Prince of *Orange*, even after he was elected King of *England*; and yet, on the other Side, had been as morose to King *James* before, in never acknowledging his Son, or shewing him the least Civility.

While the Lords acted thus in the City, they often sent for the Lord Mayor, who received all their Orders as submissively, as if they had been the most legal Commands; and when this Assembly rose, the People were so sensible of their Dignity, or rather of their Care to prevent all Disorders, that several of them, even the two Lords before-mentioned, tho' Ministers of the unfortunate King, had their Coaches attended with Crowds and Applauses as far as the City-gates. Which I purposely take Notice of, because it is a most remarkable Instance of the Advantage and Power which Men of Rank have above others, whenever they shew themselves industrious and zealous for the publick Good.

From this time forwards, 'till the King's Return out of *Kent*, these Lords met every Day in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; and by that prevented the Unruliness of the Rabble, who, the first Hour after the King's absconding, pull'd down the Houses of the *Florentine* Envoy, and the *Spanish* Ambassador; the last of whom had full Amends made him, notwithstanding so high an Insolence: For the Earl of *Mulgrave* (tho' his Master was gone, and his Staff laid aside) yet thought the Honour of the Nation so much concerned, that he presum'd to take upon himself to order an Apartment in *Whitehall* immediately, and a great Table to be kept for him twice a Day, with Yoemen of the Guard to attend in his outward Room (which they never do but on the King only) for which Strain of Authority he had the Fortune to be thank'd both by King *James* and the Prince of *Orange*. This was the highest Respect that could possibly be paid to the King of *Spain* his Master; and yet for himself, a better Reparation was made afterward by King *William*, who gave him 17000 *l.* in lieu of his pretended Losses; but it rather was for his good Service in persuading all the House of *Austria* to acknowledge him King, to which they were a great while extremely averse, notwithstanding their Union with him against *France* and King *James*.

The Bishop of *Canterbury* refusing to come any more among those Lords who met at *Whitehall*, and the Archbishop of *York* being unaccustomed

to the Business of such an Assembly, a Lord before-named, one Day, propos'd the Marquess of *Halifax* as a fit Person to preside in it, which being agreed to, happened to be the Cause of all his Favour with the Prince of *Orange*; who, finding him in that Manner at the Head of such a Council, and indeed ready to serve any Turn, thought he might be useful in this Conjunction; tho' before, he had always forbidden his Agents ever to trust him with their Design of coming into *England*. He was accordingly still forced to undergo an easy sort of Tryal, before that Party would intirely confide in him; which was after this Manner. When the King unexpectedly returned from *Feversham*, they resolved in the Prince's Council, that some Persons should be sent to *Whitehall* with an imperious sort of Message in the Dead of Night, to make him understand the Prince look'd on him as his Prisoner, and accordingly expected he would immediately remove to *Ham*, under a Guard of *Dutchmen*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere* willingly undertook this extraordinary Embassy; but the Prince added the Marquess of *Halifax* to be at the Head of it; and could not help smiling (as he own'd afterwards) to see him, who came a Commissioner to him from the other Side, accept to act so low a Part so very willingly. All this was after the King's being discover'd in *Kent*, before which time, the Peers sat daily in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; where the Lord *Mulgrave* one Morning happen'd to be advertised privately, that the King had been seiz'd by the angry Rabble of *Feversham*, and had sent a poor Countryman with the News, in order to procure his Rescue: Which was like to come too late, since the Messenger had waited long at the Council-door, without any Body's being willing to take Notice of him. This sad Account mov'd him with great Compassion, at such an extraordinary Instance of worldly Uncertainty; and no Cautions of offending the prevailing Party, were able to restrain him from shewing a little Indignation at so mean a Proceeding in the Council. Upon which, their new President adjourn'd it hastily, in order to prevent him; but that Lord earnestly conjur'd them all to sit down again presently, that he might acquaint them with a Matter which admitted of no Delay, and was of the highest Importance imaginable. Accordingly the Lords, who knew nothing of the Business, could not but hearken to it; and those few that guess'd it, and saw the Consequence, yet wanted time for concerting enough together about so nice, and so very important a Matter, as saving or losing a King's Life. The Lords therefore sat down again, and he then represented to them what a Barbarity it would be, for such an Assembly to connive at the Rabble's tearing in Pieces even any private Gentleman, much more a great Prince, who, with all his Popery, was still their Sovereign. So that meer Shame obliged them to suspend their Politicks a-while, and to call in the Messenger, who told them, with Tears, how the King had with much Difficulty engag'd him

to deliver a Letter from him to any Persons whom he could find willing to save him from so imminent Danger. The Letter had no Supercription, and was to this Effect: To acquaint the Reader of it, that he had been discover'd in his Retreat by some Fishermen of *Kent*, and secur'd at first there by the Gentry, who were yet afterwards forc'd to resign him into the Hands of an insolent Rabble.

On so pressing an Occasion, and now so very publicly made known, the Council was surpriz'd, and under some Difficulty: For, as there was Danger of displeasing by doing their Duty, so there was no less, by omitting it; since the Law makes it highly criminal to be only passive in such an Extremity: Besides, that most of them, unacquainted as yet with the Prince of *Orange*, imagin'd him prudent, and consequently capable of punishing so base a Desertion, either out of Generosity or Policy. These found afterwards their Caution needless; but at present it influenc'd the Council enough to make them send two Hundred of the Lifeguard under their Caprain the Earl of *Feversham*, first to secure the King from all Danger of the common People, and afterward, to attend him toward the Sea-side, if he continued his Resolution of retiring; which they thought it more decent to connive at, than to detain him here by Force.

But it seems he was prevail'd on to lay aside, or rather defer his Journey to *France*, till a farther Opportunity; and it is not unlikely, that trusting no Body at that time, he might only pretend to be convinc'd of his Error in going away, in order to get a better Opportunity for it at *London*, than he could hope for in that Country, where he was so narrowly watch'd, under the Pretence of being only guarded. But, whatever his Design was, the Shouts of Joy, and Shew of Welcome which attended his Coach thro' *London*, both startled his Enemies, and inclined him a little to slight his Friends; openly blaming in Council all those Peers who, in his Absence, and out of meer Necessity, had taken on themselves a Power that was so very useful to the publick Quiet. Which shews, how jealous of their Authority Princes are apt to be; tho' nothing can more endanger them, than such an overstraining it.

The King's Return altered all the Measures taken in the Prince of *Orange's* Camp; which was by this time become a Court, and all Places suppos'd to be at their Disposal. The Prince, who needed Counsel sometimes, had now more Occasion than ever to assemble all those about him, who were either of Quality or Consideration enough for it. Some, who yet have been since the greatest *Jacobites* and *Non-jurors*, propos'd the sending King *James* to the *Tower*, and hinted at something farther. But even the worst-humour'd Princes are less severe than Counsellors on such Occasions, especially to Persons of their own Rank, with whom they cannot avoid having a kind of Fellow-feeling.

Whether

Whether (as some partial to him have imagined) it proceeded either from Generosity, or some Promise made to his Wife at Parting; or whether he was made believe, that neither the King's Death, nor Imprisonment, would help him to the Crown so soon, as his Escaping into *France*, a Country so hated by the *English*; or whether he might apprehend his Wife's Title would be found better than his own, in Case of her Father's being dead: On which soever of these Grounds it was, the Prince of *Orange* at last resolved to connive at the King's going into *France*, and to preserve him from Violence in order to it.

According to this Design of forcing him away by the Despair of any Accommodation, the Earl of *Feverham* (whom the King sent to the Prince with a Compliment) was, instead of a civil Reception, clapt into Prison immediately; and Mr. *Zuysestein* was sent in all Haste to *Kent*, to forbid the King's approaching to *London*.

But the King was arrived there before, in the midst of many joyful Acclamations, which obliged the Prince to dally no longer, and to send those three Lords before-mentioned, in such a Manner as might seem almost to pronounce his Doom. They affectedly came about Midnight, and rather exacted, than desired Admittance to his Bed-side at that unseasonable Hour; where the Marquess of *Halifax* inform'd him from the Prince, that it was dangerous to his Majesty, as well as the publick Peace, to remain in *London*; and so desired his immediate going to *Ham*, a House near it, belonging to the Duchess of *Lauderdale*.

The King understood the Message, as well as his Danger in being refractory; therefore only desired *Ham* might be changed for *Rocheſter*, a Town not far from the Sea-coast of *France*; to which the Lords soon brought him the Prince's Consent; and so he was conveyed thither by Water, under a Guard of * Fifty *Dutchmen*, whose Officer had private Orders to let him escape afterwards to *France*.

I must not omit two things, which shew'd his Temper under such an unexpected Change. When the stout Earl of *Craven* resolved to be rather cut in Pieces, than to resign his Post at *Whitehall* to the Prince's Guards, the King prevented that unnecessary Bloodshed, with a great deal of Care and Kindness: And amidst all that just Apprehension of Violence to his Person, at the sudden Entry into his Chamber of those three Lords, he at least disguis'd it so well, as to discourse about the serving of the Tide, and other Things relating to his Removal, as coolly, and unconcernedly, as if it had been only a common Journey.

The same Night that the King was sent thus to *Rocheſter*, the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*; where the People were so frighted with a Report artificially spread about of some *Irish* Papists intending a Mass

There was 50 Horse and 100 Foot, of the Prince's Guards

saere, and with the usual Insolence of a Rabble; that he was received with a seeming Satisfaction.

The next Day he summoned all the Lords in Town to *St. James's*, where he kept his Court; and, after he had in a few Words opened the pretended Cause of his coming, he desired them to consider of the fittest Means to accomplish the good Ends and Promises in his Declaration; which, as it was the first time, so it was also the last, that ever he seem'd to remember those Promises, during all his Reign.

The Lords accordingly met him next Day at *Westminster*, where they only chose the Marquess of *Halifax* for their Speaker, and made an Order against any Papists appearing about the House of Parliament. But on *Monday* following, Notice was brought to the Lords, of the King's being escaped from *Rocheſter*, according to the before-mentioned tacit Agreement about that Matter between him and the Prince; who let him go, only because he thought his escaping into *France* would be the surest Means of helping him to possess his Place here. Of this the King himself was sensible; and therefore, as soon as ever his Life was secure, he contrived to leave a Letter behind him directed to the Earl of *Middleton*, in which he appeal'd both to God and Man against this Flight; forc'd upon him by so near a Relation. His Courtiers moved to have this Letter read; but it was carried by Vote in the Negative; which was the first Proof of the Lords Intentions of excluding their King, though many Divisions arose among them afterwards about the best Way of doing it.

They all agreed also now in two things, the most important that could be. The first was, that a Convention should be summoned by circular Letters in the Prince of *Orange's* Name, to all those Places which have a Right of choosing Members of Parliament: And secondly, that the Prince should be desired to manage all publick Affairs, as well as the publick Moneys, in the mean time.

Some who had Estates in *Ireland*, desired the Care and Preservation of that important Kingdom might be particularly inserted into that Address; which was something oddly opposed by the New-Court Party (for their sure Expectation of a new King warrants me now to call them so) but yet the Reason and meer Necessity of the thing proposed, forced them to comply with it at last.

It may be wondered at, and scarce believed hereafter, that a full House of Noblemen, wherein were so many of the Old Court and Council, should agree so readily to lay aside their King, and not so much as read the Letter that he left behind him, which might almost be reckoned the last Words of a dying Sovereign: But that was the Cause of its being thought dangerous, and too moving to be read. It must also be consider'd, that of late, both the King's Actions and the Prince of *Orange's*, (even as if they had agreed it between them) tended to the possessing every

every body with a strong Opinion, of the Protestant Religion being endangered by the one, and protected by the other. This made almost all the King's Ministers, as well as his Courtiers, expect more Favour even under this new Prince, than they were like to find among a few Bigots of a Religion that endures no other. Therefore, since Zeal in some, and Interest in all, co-operated against the King, we need look for no farther Reasons of so sudden a Change.

Besides all this, we may reasonably conclude, that some few Persons meaning the Prince no good, might think it imprudent to stem a Tide, to no other Purpose, except their own Ruin: And therefore rather reserved that Interest (which, by their Compliance, they obtained both with the Prince and People) to secure the publick Good as much as possible, in a Season when almost every body seem'd to abandon it. For some of the old *Whigs*, who had so long despair'd of Court Favour, were now so transported with it, not only out of their old Principles, but even out of their very Senses also, that such a good Opportunity was lost, of re-settling our old Constitution, as perhaps *England* is never like to have again. Which I do not observe with any Regard to either of the Kings in Competition; but I only mean, that (whichever Prince that Convention should set up) our Liberties might have been secured, and the Government fix'd, on the best and steadiest of Foundations, an united Interest of King and People.

This Address of the Lords, investing the Prince with almost Regal Power, tho' sufficiently welcome, was yet a little perplexing: For, as he could not but think it dangerous to dally with such an Offer, so on the other Hand, it was not very safe to accept it, without the Approbation of the Commons also.

The Difficulty lay in this, that he could have that Approbation neither formally, nor plainly, without first assembling a Parliament, which yet it self alone was so great an Act of Sovereignty, that, to call it by the Lords Advice only, was, in a manner, accepting the Regal Power from them.

He was better advis'd in this, than in most other things, for a good Expedient was resolv'd on. He reply'd, that he would consider of their Address, and, in the mean time, assembled at St. James's, all those in Town, who had been Members of King *Charles's* two last Parliaments, together with the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Fifty Representatives of the Common Council, whom he desired to consider the extraordinary Necessity of coming presently to some good Resolution.

Accordingly, they all went to Westminster next Day, where, in the usual House of Commons (choosing Mr. *Powell* for their Speaker) they imitated the Lords, in making exactly the same Address. And indeed both Houses might well concur in all, since influenc'd, I might have said enforc'd, by the same Causes; which last Expression I make use of, both

on Account of the Prince's Army here, commanded by a famous General the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, and also of a Murrer, which went about, that the City Apprentices were coming down to *Westminster*, in a violent Rage against all who voted against the Prince of Orange's Interest. And 'tis certain, that some hot-headed Persons were hardly restrained by the Prince of Orange himself, who lik'd their Zeal, but found no Need of using such a Sort of Means, as might justly invalidate all that should be then done in his Favour.

As soon as they had thus publickly address'd to the Prince, and every Man had privately adjust'd his own Conditions with him; both Houses dissolved themselves, in Order to go into their several Countries to influence the approaching Election of that Convention which was to settle all things.

'Tis easily imagin'd that all possible Industry was used, for chusing only Persons ill-affected to the unhappy King, which (for that only Reason, because he was so) were not very difficult to find. But it happened also, that the *Church-party* was almost as much oppos'd as the *Jacobites*, because inclin'd to set up the Princess of Orange, above even the Prince her Husband; notwithstanding that he was here, arm'd, and she was absent. For this Reason she was kept in *Holland*, till he had master'd that Difficulty, which vex'd him more than any other.

There was Opposition also from her Sister the Princess of *Denmark*, who thought it hard to lose her Rank of Succession, by yielding the Crown to him who was but the second Branch, and of whom she had deserved so well: And now both these Sisters were assisted in their several Pretensions by the *Church-party*, for one Reason only, viz. because they were bred up extremely devoted to it.

One of the Prince's Arguments (tho' he gave some more solid ones that seldom fail to persuade) was indeed a little extraordinary; for, he very gravely endeavour'd to make his Friends believe, that he would leave them all in the Lurch, by returning with his Army into *Holland*, rather than yield the Title to his own Wife: And a while he oppos'd (tho' to no Purpose) even her being joined with himself in the Sovereignty. Which shews the extream Restlessness of Ambition, even in its highest Scenes of Success. For, tho' an almost extravagant Expedition had thus luckily succeeded, even beyond his utmost Hopes; yet, upon this Jealousy, he grew more uneasy, than perhaps ever in his Life before.

On this Account he grew jealous of his most intimate Confidants among the *English*, because they had so much Regard to his Wife, with whom he liv'd always coldly, and a little imperiously (imitating in that *Henry VIII*) tho' her constant and most remarkable Compliance with him, even against her own Father, and Principles also, had been a mighty Help to all his Designs.

At this Time, among other Consultations held in several Places about these Matters, there was one appointed at Mr. *William Herbert's* Lodgings in St. *James's*, who was then sick of the Gout, and so concern'd at the Great Favourite's urging it was best to make the Princess no Sovereign, and only a Queen Consort; that, rising out of Bed with Earnestness, he protested against ever drawing a Sword on the Prince's Side, if he could have imagin'd him capable of such Usage to his Wife. This so alarm'd and convinc'd Monsieur *Bentinck*, of the Impossibility of obtaining a Point, which even so interested a Courtier as *Herbert* refus'd to comply in; that in half an Hour's Time he brought them Assurance from the Prince of his not insisting on it; and of his being content with conjunctive Sovereignty, on Condition he might have the sole Administration; which last they consented to, because her self so desired it.

The Pretensions of the Princess of *Denmark* were more easily accommodated: For, since the Lord *Churchill* (who govern'd that Family) was like to be highly favour'd in this new Reign, they little thought of hers; and therefore, with a good Bribe to her Favourite, the Prince had no more to do, but to promise the Princess a great Pension by a Settlement in Parliament: Which being in Present, and enough to keep her Court in Splendour, was then thought equivalent to three Kingdoms in Reversion.

Thus were all things dispos'd for the Convention, in the Cabals on the Prince of *Orange's* Side; and it met on the 22d of *January*. The Prince sent to both Houses a Letter, urging them to all imaginable Expedition, under the Pretence of common Dangers. But as soon as the Lords had chosen the Marquess of *Halifax* again for their Speaker, a Letter was straight brought in, directed to the Speaker of that House: And it appearing by the Bearer of it, Mr. *Gray*, that it was given him by the Earl of *Melford* at St. *Germain's* in *France*, where our King then liv'd, the Lords with a kind of Clamour forbade it to be read. By which it appear'd plainly, what was like to follow against that unhappy Prince; tho' they still divided about the Manner of excluding him.

Now this is the Place, where I would spare no Care I am capable of, to explain all those secret Turns in this famous Assembly, which at last made a new Settlement of the Crown of *England* (I wish I could say, of its Prerogative also, by the just bounding of which all our Liberties subsist) but alas! that was the least Thought of those who de-thron'd a King, and impoverish'd a Nation, under that Pretence only.

The House of Commons was the most unanimous in the new Courtship; and therefore it was thought wisest to begin this great Business there; from whence they sent up to the Lords this following Vote:—

"That the King, by having broken the Original Contract, and by having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and so the Throne was become vacant.

The House of Lords was extremely full, scarce one of them absent, except the Papists; and it was divided into three Parties: That of the *High-Church*, inclin'd to the Princesses; those we now call *Whigs*, assured of good Employments under the Prince; and a Third, very much the smallest, inclin'd to the unfortunate King, some out of Conscience, but more, out of Despair of Favour from the Prince.

Left Unfinish'd.



A FEAST

F E A S T O F T H E G O D S.



AS sensible Men, of all Degrees, shew their Prudence, not only in rightly managing their Affairs, but also, in seeking out for themselves some Sort of Pleasures and Diversions; finding by Experience, that our Minds, no less than our Bodies, require a Relaxation, in order to be the more active and vigorous afterwards; so, even the Gods themselves, tho' far above the Frailties of poor Mortals, yet are reported by *Homer* and all the Poets of old, sometimes to suspend their graver Considerations, and, in plain *English*, take a Cup of *Nectar* together.

One of these Merry Meetings was appointed t'other Day by *Jupiter*, who sent *Mercury* (from whom I received the following Account) to invite the whole Set of Gods and Goddeses to that illustrious Assembly.

After

After they had fill'd their Bellies with *Ambrosia*, they began to talk a little freely of all their several Sorts of Worlds, some of which we ignorant Men call Planets, and fancy them made only for us to gaze on.

When they had rambled over many of the more considerable Globes, they fell upon this of ours at last; but finding in it more Occasion for their Anger than their Mirth, were e'en just going to annihilate it (which to the Gods is no more than breaking a Glass among Good-fellows, when they find it dirty) if *Momus* had not burst out into a sudden Fit of Laughter at a certain Creature in it, call'd Man; who (he undertook) should be a Subject able to furnish Sport enough for the whole Feast, if they would but, for once, connive at his Faults, and only expose his Follies.

Venus a little blush'd at this, for the sake (as it was guess'd) of *Adonis*, *Anchises*, and half a Hundred more Gallants of hers: Then pertly reprehended *Momus*, for making so bold with a Creature that was ever accounted the very Image of the Gods; and for the sake of some of which only to please his Fancy, Almighty *Jupiter* had vouchsaf'd to transform, himself into a mortal Shape. But *Vulcan* bid her be silent for Shame, telling them he saw no such great Difference between Creatures of two Legs, and those of four, except in Vanity; in which the first Sort did so much abound, as presumptuously to arrogate a Preheminence above all their Brethren, nay, profanely pretend to resemble the very Deities themselves. They all smil'd at the jealous Spite of *Vulcan*, whispering, that there was not much Presumption in affecting to be like his Godship.

Jupiter, knowing himself censur'd for not spending a Thunderbolt or two upon such a Race of presumptuous Animals, said, *Momus* was in the right, in thinking Mankind fitter to be scorn'd than punish'd, for so ridiculous a Pride, especially since none in that divine Assembly had ever thought it worth their While, to inform them better.

Momus, thus applauded by *Jove*, ventur'd at deriding the Gods themselves a little, for suffering the very worst of Men, sometimes to rule over the very best, in their Name, and as their Vice-gerents: Nay, *Apollo*, ask'd Permission, by Way of jesting, to make them Prophets too, as well as Princes; because he doubted some of them might hardly be able to speak Sense, without the Help of Inspiration.

However, they admitted of Exceptions to this general Observation about Princes; and especially for the Female Sex: First, because you must know the Gods are extream well-bred; and next, you may be sure the old merry Saying would not fail to take, at such a jovial Meeting, That of, *Queens being still advis'd by Men, while Kings are often influenc'd by Women*.

The Gods being now grown a little tipsy, laugh'd aloud at every thing that *Momus* said, though his Jest, as I fear you will find, did not always deserve it.

Yet

Yet he took Notice right enough of a certain great and politick *Prince, whose Vanity so much out-weighs his Wisdom, that, instead of cajoling a proud Nation to change their Master, he daily affronts them by some imperious Novelty or other, either about changing their Garb or Government; for want of considering, that Pride had rather be punished than slighted.

Another † Prince, lately deceas'd in Exile, was censur'd also (yet with great Compassion amidst all their Mirth) because, tho' he not only meant to govern well, but had Talents capable of it; yet notwithstanding all that, he lost three Kingdoms meerly for want of being wisely principled in his Youth, and instructed, that Kings should indeed reverence the Gods, and appear decently devout; but never violently zealous for any thing besides Justice, and the publick Good: Which Vertue alone, they said, without other Religion, is sufficient to make them Heroes on Earth, and advance them afterwards to be Demi-gods in Heaven.

All the Gods admired that odd Mixture, of which his ‡ Successor was compos'd; so very lazy, heavy, and easily impos'd on by Favourites, and yet so very ambitious, and enterprising; which they attributed to the different Characters of his Ancestors; who on his Mother's Side, were *only* Sovereigns (*Henry the Fourth of France* excepted) but, on his Father's, such as *deserved* to be so.

Yet *Jupiter* himself shew'd great Esteem of him; but was suspected a little of some Partiality, on Account of his own Proceedings with old Father *Saturn*. He was observ'd also to kiss *Ganymede* all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whisper to one another a little maliciously.

There was a certain || King in a Corner, which they had also a Fling at, for having made too bold with a lunatick Brother; and for suffering his Ministers afterwards to make too bold with himself; so that neither his Subjects nor Allies, were much the better for his good Intentions. But at to his Brother, *Momus* himself excus'd him; saying, all things should be judg'd by Comparison; desiring them to look about the World, and see how little Nearness of Blood was consider'd. Upon being ask'd if he meant any particular Person, he desired to be excus'd for having drank a Cup of Nectar too much: Then smiling said, he wish'd that Prince so well, he would advise him to do like the Eastern Monarchs, and take some good Physician for one of his Ministers.

There was a *|| Northern Prince, whom the Gods themselves hardly knew what to make of; something humourfome, very brave, mighty

* *Lewis XIV.* † *James II.* ‡ *William III.* || King of *Portugal.* *|| King of *Sweden.*

revengeful, indefatigable, and violently ambitious; some of the main Ingredients that make a Heroe. But, tho' we Mortals are counted foolish, who judge by Success; yet the very Gods were forc'd to do it in this Case, and suspend their Judgment of this Prince a while, asham'd to be so puzzled by a Youth of Four and Twenty.

They perceiv'd another * King hard by, in the same Quarter, much concern'd for the Loss of a † Brother, whom many Years ago he had dispos'd of extreamly well; yet no Body since ever heard one Word of him. *Momus*, laughing said, the good Prince was not quite dead, tho' forc'd to breathe hard to prevent being buried; because no Body perceiv'd any other Sign of Life in him. Some of the Gods smil'd, and said, it would be well for the Quiet of Mankind, if all Princes were as dull and insignificant.

Another ‡ King would have been scarce taken Notice of, if he had not, one Morning, taken that Title for his Morning's Draught, and declar'd himself to be one. But the Gods said for his Excuse, that there was more plain Dealing in that Proceeding than in all the rest of that Rank, who pretend to derive theirs, either from the Gods, or Approbation of the People; whereas neither in Reality are the least guilty of the Matter.

This honest Prince (said *Momus*) went more plainly to Work; and, because no Body else cared for him enough to do it, even took a good Resolution, and set up himself. *Mars* frown'd, and said, it was of ill Example, and against the Custom of Princes; whose additional new Honours and Titles are ever wont to arise from Wars and Conquest, out of the Blood and Treasure of their Subjects.

But *Jupiter* told him he was a blustering God, to find Fault with the only good Circumstance of so vain an Action; which yet in time would make his mischievous Godship Amends, by setting agog all the little Princes both of *Italy* and *Germany*, whose Mouths now water at the same Dignity, and, to obtain it, will never let *Europe* be quiet.

Now came into Play an odd Animal which *Momus* said was call'd an Emperor *|| just as a little *Indian* Bird is call'd a Pope, only because there grows a high Topping upon his Head. Some said he was above all Kings, only as their Hats are; and that he begg'd every Body's Assistance, while he would not help himself. Some of the Gods said, they very often indeed vouchsafed to help poor Mortals who cannot, but never such who will not help themselves. However, the Gods admir'd the odd Zeal of those who devoutly preserve their Religion in one Country, and yet at the same time assist a Prince who persecutes the same Religion in another.

* King of Denmark. † Prince George of Denmark. ‡ King of Prussia. *|| Leopold Emperor of Germany.

Upon this Occasion, *Jupiter* observ'd, how silly Mortals presume to blame Providence for the Weakness or Wickedness of hereditary Princes, while yet they are not much happier under those whom they elect themselves. This gave *Momus* an Opportunity of Raillery: The double Pretensions to Crowns, so much in Fashion now-a-days, arising most commonly from the People's setting up new Princes, because they always fancy those best with whom they are least acquainted.

Some Mention at last was made of a certain * People remarkable for Industry, and for having no other good Quality besides; whom *Momus* yet defended maliciously enough, by shewing the great Influence they have over a great and rich Nation, that has the Folly to be impos'd on by them both at home and abroad, tho' the dullest Creatures alive.

The Affairs of *Italy* were in too melancholy a Posture for such a Feast of Jollity; and the Gods, in all their Mirth, were yet incapable of mocking at † two Princes of one House in that Country, who make so great a Figure there.

On the contrary, they all declar'd unanimously, that one of them as much outshin'd all the *Monarchs* of this Age, as the other excell'd the *Generals*: For which just Encomium, not only *Mars*, but *Minerva* also, in just Gratitude, rose up, and made Obeisance to that august Assembly.

* The *Dutch*. † The Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*.

F I N I S.